

## MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Excerpts.

(WASHINGTON,) March 8, 1941.

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The Ambassador then said that it would be well-nigh unthinkable for our two countries to fight each other on account of the destructive effects that would inevitably result in any event. I here spoke and said that my country entertained the same idea about the destructive effects of a military clash between our two countries. I then inquired of the Ambassador whether the military groups in control of his Government could possibly expect important nations like the United States to sit absolutely quiet while two or three nations before our very eyes organized naval and military forces and went out and conquered the balance of the earth, including the seven seas and all trade routes and the other four continents. Could they expect countries like mine to continue to remain complacent as that movement is going on? I inquired further what countries like mine would have to gain by remaining complacent in the face of a movement to substitute force and conquest for law and justice and order and fair dealing and equality. The Ambassador sought to play down the view that such military conquest was really in the mind of his Government and he then said that embargoes by this country were, of course, of increasing concern, and that he did not believe there would be any further military movements unless the policy of increasing embargoes by this country should force his Government, in the minds of those in control, to take further military steps. To this I replied that this is a matter entirely in the hands of his Government for the reason that his Government took the initiative in military expansion and seizures of territory of other countries, thereby creating an increasingly deep concern on the part of my own and other countries as to the full extent of Japanese conquest by force which was contemplated; that my country has not been at fault and none of the nations engaged in conquest have pretended seriously to charge it with any action of omission or commission in relation to the present movement of world conquest by force on the part of some three nations, including Japan. The Ambassador sought here to minimize and mildly to controvert the idea that Japan is engaged in broad unqualified military conquest. I then repeated the terms of the Tripartite Agreement and the public declaration of Hitler and Matsuoka and other high authorities in Japan to the effect that their countries under the Tripartite arrangement were out by military force to establish a new order not for Asia alone.

not for Europe alone, but for the world, and a new order under their control. I said that whatever interpretation the Ambassador might give these utterances and military activities in harmony with them thus far, the American people who were long complacent with respect to dangerous international developments have of late become very thoroughly aroused and awakened to what they regard as a matter of most serious concern in relation to movements by Japan and Germany, presumably to take charge of the seas and the other continents for their own personal arbitrary control and pecuniary profit at the expense of the welfare of all of the peoples, who are victims of such a course and of peaceful nations in general. I said, of course, these apprehensions and this tremendous concern will remain and continue so long as Hitler continues his avowed course of unlimited conquest and tyrannical rule and so long as the Japanese Army and Navy increase their occupation by force of other and distant areas on both land and sea, with no apparent occasion to do so other than that of capture and exclusive use of the territory and other interests of other countries. The Ambassador again sought to allay the idea of military conquest on the part of his country, and I again replied with emphasis that so long as Japanese forces were all over China and Japanese troops and airplanes and naval vessels were as far south as Thailand and Indochina and Saigon, accompanied by such threatening declarations as Japanese statesmen are making week after week, there can only be increasing concern by nations who are vitally interested in international affairs both on land and sea as they are also vitally interested in the halt of world conquest by force and barbaric methods of government.

I proceeded to comment on Japan's line of activities and utterances by saying that this country and most other countries only proclaim and practice policies of peaceful international relationships, political, economic, social and cultural. Sometimes the policy to promote these mutually beneficial relationships is proclaimed, such as our good neighbor policy with special reference to Pan America. And yet all of our acts and programs and policies adopted by the twenty-one American nations in their conferences from time to time are made universal in their application, so that Japan and all other nations receive the same equal opportunities for trade and commerce generally throughout the Americas that each of the American nations receives itself. In striking contrast the new order in greater Eastern Asia is unequivocally believed to be purely a program of military aggression and conquest with entirely arbitrary policies of political, economic and military domination.

Foreign Relations II, p.389 at  
pp. 392-3, 395

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國務長官對見書

一九四一年三月八日(マントン)

Ex/1056

No. 1

拔草次

次大使、如何ニスルトモ有害ニ結果ノ之ヲ避ケ得ベ  
ニ非ハガ故ニ我等兩國間、戰爭、也キ、沿ド考  
ヘニシズト言ヘリ。斯干余、我等兩國間、軍事事  
衝突、有害ニ結果ニ開シテハ我國於テモ同  
感化旨陳求セリ。次干、余、大使ニ言國が我が  
眼前於テ海陸軍、部隊ヲ編制進出シセツ、  
又全交易心トヲ又也、四大陸ヲ合ム  
世界制覇ヲ十人ヲ合衆國、如キ重要諸國が絶  
對ニ坐視スルト、彼、政府麾下、軍部、或子  
期ニ非バヤク質問セリ。斯ル活動、行ハ、禁  
我國、他キ諸國が是如トシテ井ハキモ、ト彼等  
ガ予期セル筈がアラカ。余、更ニ我國、如キ國家  
が法規正義秩序、公平平等待、代々武力行使  
服ヲ以テスル行動ヲ欣然認ヘリ。一体何ヲ得バヤ  
ク質問セリ。大使、事實、彼、政府、心中ニカル  
軍事征服思想アリトスル見解ヲ輕視ミトセカ  
且當國ニ心ル輸出禁止、勿論漸次關心ヲ増大  
事柄ニテ當國ニヨル輸出禁止拡大政策、彼國、  
政府ヲ掌握セシ者、暇ニ彼國、政府ヲシテ之上  
軍事處置ニテセシムト田心、サル限リ今日  
以上、行動ヲスコトカルベシト田心、日詔シリ。

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之三對し余次、如<sup>ク</sup>追合セリ。即千此、問題<sup>ハ</sup>全々彼  
政府、掌中<sup>ニ</sup>此問題<sup>ナリ</sup>。何故<sup>テ</sup>ハ彼、政府、  
軍事侵略並<sup>ニ</sup>他國領土獲得、先鞭ヲ著ケ之が  
爲我國甚<sup>シ</sup>他、諸國側<sup>ハ</sup>叶、計畫サシタル日本  
軍事征服、最大限度<sup>ニ</sup>闇<sup>シ</sup>益<sup>ス</sup>、深キ関心ヲ抱  
カセシメラレタ<sup>ハ</sup>テ、我が國<sup>ハ</sup>非難<sup>シ</sup>、<sup>シ</sup>ギテナ<sup>ハ</sup>、  
然<sup>ニ</sup>征服<sup>ニ</sup>從事<sup>セ</sup>ル諸國<sup>ハ</sup>日本ヲ令<sup>ム</sup>或<sup>ニ</sup>三國側<sup>ニ</sup>於  
ケ<sup>ハ</sup>現行<sup>ニ</sup>、武力世界征服運動<sup>ニ</sup>關<sup>シ</sup>如何<sup>ナ</sup>不  
履行<sup>ス</sup>又<sup>ハ</sup>干犯<sup>ス</sup>、行<sup>ハ</sup>爲<sup>ス</sup>對<sup>シ</sup>テ<sup>ハ</sup>真<sup>シ</sup>僉<sup>ニ</sup>我國<sup>ヲ</sup>  
責<sup>ミ</sup>トスル國<sup>ニ</sup>一國<sup>ハ</sup>カリシ<sup>ハ</sup>日本<sup>ハ</sup>令<sup>ム</sup>。該<sup>ハ</sup>  
於<sup>テ</sup>大使<sup>ハ</sup>日本<sup>ガ</sup>広範用<sup>ニ</sup>且<sup>ハ</sup>不當<sup>ス</sup>、軍事征服  
ヲ行<sup>ヒ</sup>アリト、見解<sup>ヲ</sup>最<sup>シ</sup>限<sup>ニ</sup>且<sup>ハ</sup>極<sup>シ</sup>曲<sup>ニ</sup>之  
論<sup>シ</sup>取<sup>セ</sup>ントセリ。サ<sup>シ</sup>余<sup>ハ</sup>三國同盟<sup>ノ</sup>條項<sup>ハ</sup>  
ビ<sup>シ</sup>トラ<sup>シ</sup>松岡益<sup>ニ</sup>其<sup>ハ</sup>日本高官<sup>ハ</sup>依<sup>ル</sup>三  
國協定下<sup>ニ</sup>、三國<sup>ハ</sup>武力<sup>ニ</sup>ヨリ帝<sup>ニ</sup>東亞、新秩序  
建設<sup>又</sup>帝<sup>ニ</sup>歐洲<sup>ニ</sup>新秩序建設<sup>、</sup>十<sup>二</sup>人<sup>ハ</sup>實<sup>ニ</sup>  
全世界<sup>ニ</sup>新秩序<sup>ハ</sup>彼等<sup>ハ</sup>統制<sup>下</sup>、新秩序建設<sup>ハ</sup>  
爲<sup>ス</sup>也<sup>ト</sup>動<sup>セ</sup>トト<sup>ト</sup>旨<sup>ハ</sup>宣言<sup>ヲ</sup>繰<sup>返</sup>シテ<sup>リ</sup>。余<sup>ハ</sup>大  
使<sup>ガ</sup>之等<sup>ハ</sup>言<sup>ク</sup>辭<sup>及</sup>夫<sup>ト</sup>一致<sup>ス</sup>ル今日<sup>迄</sup>、軍事  
行動<sup>ヲ</sup>如何<sup>ニ</sup>解釋<sup>ス</sup>ト<sup>ト</sup>天國際情勢<sup>ハ</sup>、危險  
化<sup>シ</sup>進<sup>展</sup>ニ闊<sup>シ</sup>長<sup>シ</sup>、日安<sup>ナ</sup>如<sup>シ</sup>米國民<sup>ハ</sup>近時  
全<sup>ク</sup>且<sup>ハ</sup>覺<sup>ミ</sup>大<sup>シ</sup>日<sup>ハ</sup>獨<sup>リ</sup>、軍事行動<sup>ヲ</sup>恐<sup>ラ</sup>ハカル  
過程<sup>、</sup>被害者<sup>ニ</sup>大體<sup>ニ</sup>於<sup>テ</sup>和平的國民<sup>タ</sup>  
全國民<sup>、</sup>福祉<sup>ヲ</sup>犠牲<sup>ニ</sup>テ<sup>ハ</sup>彼等<sup>自身</sup>、事

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斷的支配及金錢上、利益を得てが爲海洋及諸大陸の處理にて行動を就キ。最大關心事は考究コトニ奮起セリト言ハ。余ハ勿論ドラレガ公言セル無限、征服道ヲ續ケ非道、文ヲ繼續スル限リ。又日本陸海軍が也國領土其權益ヲ略取シ事用スルト言フ以外何等之ヲテ判然タル理由ナシテ他、又遠隔大陸海兩域、武力占領擴大續行スル限リ。如上、危惧並此、絶大關心存續ベシト言ハ。大使ハ又自國側、軍事征服、見解ヲ緩和セトセリサレバ余ハ日本軍隊が中國全域ニ在リ、又日本軍隊航空機、海軍艦船が泰國印度支那西貢ノ南方迄進去シ方日本政治家が毎週毎週ナルガ如キ渴明ノ聲明ヲ發入服リ。海陸兩處於此國際情勢一大關心ヲ持ツ諸國、武力外に實的支配手段ニ依り世界征服、休止ニ極メテ關心ヲ有スハ故ニ之等諸國、關心増大にて停止スルト知ラベキ兩度演説セリ、

余ハ言葉續ケ當國凡て大低、他諸國只管政治上、經濟上、社會上、文化上ニ和平的國際親善政策ヲ主張シ之ヲ實行スル、之ル云々日本、言動、範圍ニ限レ評論アリ。況米ニ特ニ關係ア化善隣政策、如キ互惠關係助長政策が時ニ拂言サシテヰ。而モ米國ニ一國民ニ依リ其、

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屢次、會議於テ採用セラシタル議決企畫、政  
策、皆其適用を普及遍化せし井。從之日本  
其、他各國、米國民同じく通商、機会、等  
大体全米を通じて有る、了心。然ルニ全之  
反対東亞新秩序ニテハ政治經濟軍  
事管轄、主導、專制政策ヲ伴ノ純然タル  
軍事的侵略征服計畫ルコトハ明カニ信セラ  
リ。

外交關係 第二卷

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Ex #1057

P. 1

Doc. No. 220 C (22)

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(WASHINGTON,) March 14, 1941

Excerpts.

• • • • •

The President again returned to the Tripartite Agreement and said that it had upset the American people because they think that a concerted effort is being made by Germany and Italy to reach the Suez Canal and by Japan on the other hand to approach Singapore, the Netherlands East Indies and the Indian Ocean. The Japanese Ambassador spoke more strongly than he had in his earlier talk with me, expressing his belief that his country would not go South.

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The President finally remarked that, as the Ambassador indicated, matters between our two countries could undoubtedly be worked out without a military clash, emphasizing that the first step in this direction would be the removal of suspicion and fear regarding Japan's intentions. I here remarked that, of course, with Matsuoka astride the Axis on his way to Berlin and talking loudly as he goes, and Japanese naval and air forces in the vicinity of Indochina, Thailand and Saigon, with no explanation but with serious inferences, the Ambassador must realize how acute feeling and opinion in this country have become.

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Foreign Relations II, v. 396  
at pp. 397-398

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拔萃

國務長官依託書

(アシントン)一九四一年三月十四日

大統領、再び三國協定三言及し獨伊ガ、スエズ運河ニ達セ  
ト、一方日本ガ、シニガモル、蘭領印度及印度洋ニ接近セントス  
ノ努力が拂ヒテサヘ米國民考ヘタ爲、其ハ米國民ヲ轉倒セ  
メタト語ツク。日本大使、日本ハ南進セサヘヒテ彼、信念ヲ披瀝  
シテ、彼方從未私ト、會談ニ於テナルヨリモ一層力強、語ツク。  
大統領、最後は大使、不ヲ如ク、吾ガ兩國向ニ介在スル事件、  
武力衝突ナクニテ解決シ得ルコトハ疑ヒナリ、アラウト述べバ、  
又此方向ニ向ツテ、第一步ハ日本、意圖ニ開ス比擬惑ト驚怖  
「除去」アルトカラ籠々語ツク。  
つ、時私ハ、松岡ガ樞軸、勢ニ駕シテ氣焰ヲ上げ乍ラベリシ  
ハ、途上アリ。又日本海空軍ガ印度支那、泰、西貢、近邊ニ在  
リテ、カモソリニ付ニ併等、説明モ加ヘ、事能、重大ナリヲ暗示シテ  
キルコトニヨリ、二國、國民、感情及ニ意見ガ如何ニ敏敏ト  
ナリテ未テキルカヲ、大使ハ勿論悟ラシテアラウト述べバ、

外文關係

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